CHAPTER-II

EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION
CHAPTER-II
EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION

I. Expansion of the Koch kingdom under the Generalship of Chilarai:

In the forgoing pages we have discussed how the Koches assumed the political power in the western Brahmaputra Valley in the early part of the 16th century. Following the invasion of the Kamatā kingdom by Ala-ud-dīn Hūssain Shāh, the Sultan of Bengal (A.D. 1439 - 1510) in A.D. 1498, an adventurous Koch chief Bisu - later known as Biswa Singha laid the foundation of his kingdom in about 1515 A.D., on the ruins of the old Kamatā Kingdom. The names of the different chiefs and principalities which were brought under subjugation by Biswa Singha clearly indicate that his rule extended towards the east along the north bank of the Brahmaputra up to the Morā Dhansiri river of Mangaldoi subdivision and along the south bank of the Brahmaputra including some parts of Nowgaon district. Towards the west his rule extended up to the river Kalang. Biswa Singha ruled about 25 years (A.D. 1515 - 1540).

Biswa Singha was succeeded by his son Malla Dev, better known as Naranarayan (A.D. 1540 - 1587). Naranarayan was not only the greatest of the Koch kings, but was also one of the illustrious rulers of the north-east India of his time. His long reign of nearly half a century forms a landmark in the history of the Brahmaputra valley. With the help of his able brother and General Chilarai, Naranarayan brought most of the neighbouring states under his hegemony and by greatly patronising various cultural pursuits as well as the neo-vaishnavite movement, he became successful in opening up of a new chapter in the history of this part of the country. But the political hegemony which the Koches held over the region was short lived and the kingdom suffered a division in A.D. 1581, following the death of Chilarai in A.D. 1576.

2. HAG. P.48;
Contemporary political condition of the eastern and western bordering states of the Koch kingdom:

The contemporary political condition of the eastern and western bordering states of the Koch kingdom, when Naranarayan was on the throne was of great confusion and disorder. In the eastern part of the Brahmaputra valley the growing Ahom power established themselves as a prominent power by defeating the Chutias in 1523 A.D. and extended their kingdom in both the banks of the Brahmaputra up to the foothills of present Arunachal Pradesh, under the able leadership of the Ahom king Suhungmung alias Dehingia Raja (A.D. 1497-1539). As well as Suhungmung defeated the Kacharris one of the aboriginal tribes in 1536 A.D. and extended his kingdom up to the Dhansiri valley. In the north bank of the Brahmaputra Suhungmung extended his kingdom up to the river Bhoroli by defeating some Bhuyan Chiefs. Suhungmung's reign also witnessed the Muhammadan invasions of Bengal from 1527 to 1533 A.D. The first recorded Muhammadan invasion in Ahom history was in 1527 A.D. which was led by one great Wazir. The defeated Muhammadans led a second attempt with a heavy force but fetched a serious defeat with Ahoms. However in the year 1532 again the Muhammadans under the command of one Turbak invaded Ahom kingdom. The Ahom army successfully resisted them and had meanwhile extended their sway to the Dhansiri valley in the south bank and the river Bhoroli in the north bank of the Brahmaputra. These conquests were followed by fruitful consolidation during the reigns of Suhungmung's successors Suklengmung or Gargaya Raja (A.D. 1539 - 1552) and Sukhampha or Khorai Raja (A.D. 1552 - 1603). It was therefore very natural that the west ward expansion of the Ahoms and the eastward expansion of the Koches would come into clash sooner or later. The annexation of the Chutia and the Kachari kingdom had given the Ahoms an exclusive control over the major part of the Brahmaputra valley. On the other hand the Koch king Naranarayan wanted to push further to the east to establish his sovereign power in the entire north-east by defying the allegiance paid to the Ahom since the days of his father Biswa Singha. The matter of question thus one of establishing hagemony in the Brahmaputra valley.

2a. Ibid, Pp, 90, ff; ABSMJc, P, 22.
On the other hand in the western frontier, i.e. in Bengal the political situation was full of disorder. One Sher Khan Sūr (A.D. 1540-1545), the founder of Sūr dynasty, had defeated Ghiasuddin Mahmud (A.D. 1533-38) the last ruler of the Hūsain Shāhi dynasty in A.D. 1538 and established his hold over Bengal and become the challenging power to the Mughals of Delhi. As a result Humāyun (A.D. 1530-1556) the son and successor of Bābar soon came into conflict with Sher Shāh. But Sher Shāh by inflicting serious defeat on Humāyun in the battles of Chausā (A.D. 1539) and Kanauj (1540) captured the throne of Delhi, and consolidated his hold over Delhi to Bengal. However, this political relation of Bengal with Delhi was short lived. After a short period of only thirteen years (A.D. 1540-1553), taking the advantage of the death of Islam Shāh the successor of Sher Shāh of Bengal under the command of Shams-ud-din Muhammad Shāh (A.D. 1553-1555) exercised her independence. He was succeeded by his son Ghiyas-ud-din Bāhādur Shāh (A.D. 1555-60), and Jālāl Shāh Ghiyasudin II (1560-63) respectively. The last ruler Ghiyasūdīn III ruled only for a period of one year and the throne of Bengal was occupied by the Kārnā Sultans in 1564 A.D. It was during the rule of Sulaimān Kārnā of this line (A.D. 1565-72) that a conflict took place between the Koch king Naranarayan and the Afgan Sultan4a.

On the other hand in Delhi, Humāyun re-established himself in A.D. 1545. He was succeeded by his son Ākbar (A.D. 1556-1605) who in November 1556 A.D. at the battle of Panipat defeated Hemo the general of Muhammad Shāh Ādil, the last vestige of the line of Sher Khān and placed the Mughal power beyond challenge5 and as well as he extended the eastern border of the Mughal empire as far as Son river in Bihar.6 In the meantime the Bengal Sultan Sulaimān Kārnā, the shrewd politician and intelligent opportunist left no stone unturned to follow a peaceful policy towards Ākbar and gained his viceroyship on the western border7. But after his death, during the reign of Dāud Khān Kārnā (1572-74) relation with Ākbar

---

5. J.N.Sarker, Pp. 179f.
6. Ibid. P.182
7. Ibid.

(14)
became hostile. As a result, Akbar not only defeated him but also occupied Bengal and made it a permanent province of the Mughal empire in 1576.8

Thus after the occupation of Bengal the Mughal territory touched the western boundary of the Koch Behar and subsequently the direct relations between the two became open. It was an accepted principle that enemy's enemy is a friend and hence the former animosity between the Afghan rulers of Bengal and the Koch king now turned into friendly relations immediately soon after the occupation of Bengal by the Mughals.9

Military Re-organisation and conquest of Chilarai:

Biswa Singha organised his armed forces in a systematic manner, by creating certain categories of officials, entrusting them with the charge of a number of soldiers; pāiks such as Thākurīā, Saikiā, Hāzarikā, Omrāh, Nabāb etc. The Omrāh and the Nabābs were like zonal administrators and provincial governors and they also functioned as troop commanders and generals respectively. It seems that these posts were created more or less in the same pattern that was being followed in Bengal.

Chilarai the brother general of Naranarayan recognised the armed forces into a number of divisions, with a view to further strengthen and improved upon the military organisation set up by his father Biswa Singha. Each division was put under command of a chief commander or a general. He constituted certain new divisions - Infantry, Cavalry, Elephantry and Naval etc.11 Later on the first three divisions were grouped under one command what is the Land forces and the naval division is as the naval forces.

9. D. Nath.. P.49
10. KBI. P.93; ( Biswa singha organised his administration on military lines creating a gradation of officers in the pattern of administration then prevailed in Bengal. His system evidently bore the signs of Muslim influence. An able bodied male was termed as Paik. Twenty Paiks were placed under the control of Thākurīā, over one hundred Paik ,Saikiā; over one thousand Paik, Hāzarikā; over three thousand Umrās and over twenty two or sixty six thousand the Nawabs. Such as Wazir, Lashkar, Bhuyān, Baruās etc. were the wardens of the frontiers. Vide J.P. Rajkhowa. Generalissimo Chilarai and His Times. P.30; D. Nath.P.30.
The strength and ability of a kingdom, particularly in those days depended upon its military power. As such the department of war was most important in the administrative machinery. But the fighting forces were not given regular salaries for their regular maintenance. The mercenary soldiers were mainly recruited only at the time of war, who obviously did not have the same loyalty and commitment for the country they were fighting for. In most of the cases, whenever their employer the king or the general perished in the battle field, such mercenaries used to leave the battle and flee for their lives as there was no procedure for payment of their dues in the event of the death of their employer.

However the position of the Koch armed forces was opposite of the above scenario, Chilarai knew it very well, that, unless the armed forces were imbibed with a high sense of love and patriotism for the motherland, they would be lacking the necessary motivation to fight fearlessly on the battlefront. Because of such a firm conviction, Chilarai arranged settlement of free hold land with the soldiers, according to their ranks, so that the maintenance of their families would not pose as a demotivating factor. In the event of war, all the able bodied persons participated in mobilisation of war efforts. As recorded in the Darrang Raj Vamsāvali the total number of fighting force was 52, 25,000 in the reigns of Biswa Singha and Naranarayan, which must have included the able bodied man, power strength of the friendly states and the vassal kingdoms.

Chilarai not only modernised the Koch military machine, but also planfully constructed well designed forts, embankments, Rāmpart etc. for the protection of the forces during war, the palaces and also the capital city, besides setting up many strategic camps and posts.

Āhom Koch conflict and expedition against Āhoms:

The sources of both the Koches and the Āhoms give us detail of the circumstances leading to a conflict between the two powers during the reign of Naranarayan. It is narrated in the sources that Biswa Singha having met with a failure in his campaign against Āhoms due

12. Ibid. P.86
13. DRV. Vv. 198 & 315.

(16)
to the hardships of food supplies, could not reconcile himself to his subordination and hence at his deathbed he asked his sons to take appropriate steps to recover the Ahom vassalage. Naranarayan, therefore, immediately after his accession to the throne prepared for a war against the Ahoms. His counterpart in the Ahom territory at the time was Suklengmung alias Garhgayā Rājā (A.D. 1539-1552). It was from the Ahoms side the border clash between the two powers took place. After subduing some unruly Bhuyans of the north bank of the Brahmaputra, Suklengmung proceeded to attack the Koch garrison guarding the eastern frontier of the Koch kingdom on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. In 1543 A.D. the Ahoms drove away the Koch garrison to Sala on the southern bank of Brahmaputra. At that time, Rām Singha, Dip Singha and Hemadhar, the three brothers of the Naranarayan were engaged at Sala, the eastern part of the Koch kingdom in different sorts of duties on the southern bank of Brahmaputra with three thousand soldiers. The chronicles mentions that the contest ensured between the Ahoms and the Koches when the Koch soldiers captured a boat of Ahom Bor-Sandikoi along with five men on the Sala river, possibly the Ahoms encroached the boundary and carried on illegal trade. The result was that the Ahom Bor-Sandikoi attacked the Koch garrison stationed there. But the Ahoms met with a reprisal and the Bor-Sandikoi was seriously injured by Hemadhar. As well as one hundred Ahom soldiers were killed and their heads were piled up at Bhomoramukh (or Bhairabkunda). In January 1548 A.D. the Koches further advanced towards the east up to Changinimukh on the south bank of the Brahmaputra. But the Ahoms then assumed the offensive by constructing fort at Chinginimukh and then defeated the Koches. Dip Singha along with many soldiers fell in the battle and his wife was brought as a prisoner with fourteen elephants. The other two princes Hemadhar and Rāmachandra were also killed when they advanced against Ahoms.

16. DRV. V.319
17. ABSMJC. Pp.29-30; KBL. P.102; HAG. P.51
18. Ibid. Pp.25, 29; Ibid. P.102
19. ABSMJC. P.25
20. Ibid.
This incident led Naranarayan to launch his expedition against the Ahom kingdom along the north bank of the Brahmaputra in 1546 A.D. The Koch army advanced as far as the river Dikrāi on the north bank of the Brahmaputra where it was met by Ahoms.\textsuperscript{21} This time the Ahom prime minister Āikhek Burāgoḥāin advocated a no-war policy but failed. The Ahom army crossed the Dikrāi twice and attacked the Koches but were repulsed. The Koch army fought with bow and arrows and succeeded in killing a number of Ahom soldiers with their leaders. Thereupon the common soldiers fled and retreated to a place called Karangā and crossed the Brahmaputra and halted at Kaliābor. There also the Ahoms suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Koches and had to retreat to Sālā. The Koches continued to pursue the Ahoms and again defeated them with the loss of twenty of their chief officers. But the Ahoms soon resumed fighting with their elephantry and within a short time, seriously defeated the Koches who then fled in the direction of the Brahmaputra.\textsuperscript{22}

The battle of Pichalā:

The Koches soon repaired their losses and again led an expedition against Ahoms following the year 1547 A.D. and constructed a fort at Nārāyanpur on north-eastern corner of the Lakhimpur district.\textsuperscript{23} The Ahom king Suklengmung struck in behind them and entrenched himself on the bank of the Pichalā river and waited for an opportunity to attack the enemy. The Ahoms cut off the communications of the Koches and forced them to assume offensive. The initiative was however, taken by the Koches themselves. The result was a disastrous defeat for the Koches who were repulsed with heavy losses and in the disorderly retreat, which were Sūrrounded and killed by the Ahoms. It is recorded in the Ahom chronicles that Ahoms stored up and cremated five thousand heads of Koch soldiers killed in this battle at a place called "Mathādāng" in Sivasāgar district.\textsuperscript{24} By the beginning of 1549 A.D. all the Koch armies in the eastern frontier of their kingdom were completely defeated at the hands of Ahoms.

\textsuperscript{21} S.K. Bhuyan (ed), Deodhai Asam Buranjī. DHAS. Gauhati. reprint. 1962. P.41 (\textit{DAB}), \textit{ABGB}. P.81
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{ABGC}. P.80; \textit{HAG}. P.51
\textsuperscript{23} \textit{HAG}. P.52; \textit{ABGC}. P.81
\textsuperscript{24} \textit{ABSMJC}. P.52 (It is stated that because of the pilling up of the heads (Mātha) the place came to be known as Mathādāng); \textit{HAG}. P.52
of the Ahom.\textsuperscript{25} The victorious Ahom king then returned to the capital and performed the Rikvan ceremony as a part of their victory.\textsuperscript{26}

**Peace proposals from the Koches:**

This decisive defeat of the Koches led to a cessation of hostilities of some years. But it is possible that after the defeat Naranarayan had to think of a reprisal against Ahoms. But before taking up arms he decided to send diplomatic peace mission to the Ahom court with a view to gathering some information regarding the Ahom attitude towards the Koches. Hence Naranarayan himself took the initiative to cultivate the friendship of the Ahom king who was rapidly becoming the powerful ruler in the extreme eastern corner of India. With this object in view he sent a mission to the Ahom court in June 1555 A.D. The mission was led by Satānanda Karji, Rāmeswar Sarmā, Kālaketu, Dhūmā Sarder, Udabhānda Chāuliya and Syarāi with a letter and presents to the Ahom king Sukhāmphā, alias Khorā Rājā\textsuperscript{27} (A.D. 1552-1603). The Koch envoys were received at the Ahom capital Garhāon. Naranarayan through his envoys reminded King Sukhāmphā of the old friendship that was established by his father Biswa Singha with the then Ahom king Suhungmung and regretted the murder of the three Koch princes Dip Singh, Hemadhar and Rāmachandra in spite of the maintenance of friendly relations by Naranarayan. Through his letter addressed to the Ahom king he again expressed his desire of maintaining friendly relations between the two kings and requested the latter to act to that effect. Naranarayan sent the following things as presents to the Ahom king—one pillow, one bow, one pair Cheng fish, a mare and her colt, one jākoī (a triangular shaped instrument of bamboo used for catching fish) five embroidered Saris of Barnagar, gomecheng or China silk, five khāgaris (a kind of reed), ten pieces of black hides, and twenty pieces of white hides along with the letter.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{25} KBI. P.103
\textsuperscript{26} ABGC. P. 89; DAB. P.42
\textsuperscript{27} KBI. Pp. 104ff.; ABSMJC. Pp. 34-35;
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
It is however in reply to the oral message of the Koch king complaining of the murder of the three Koch princes the Ahom Buragohain Aikhek, who received the Koch envoys on behalf of the king, replied that relations between Kshatriya was bound to be of such nature. Therefore the death of the princes should not cause an infringement in the old bonds of friendship between the two kingdoms. He further told the envoys that everything would be accomplished if he was intent on continuing friendly relations with the swagadeo (the Ahom King). As regard to the articles presented by the Koch envoys, the Buragohain further told that they were quite ordinary and unfit for exhibiting in a royal court. Further he found fault with the letter’s etiquette and made some adverse comments on their manners and customs betrayed by them in course of their interview with him. He also wrote a letter to the Koch king on behalf of Ahom king expressing his dissatisfaction with the presents. Two envoys named Chandibar and Dāmodar Sarma were sent along with Koch envoys with letter and the following articles - two rolls of Narā cloth, four elephant tusks, and two bags of gāthions (a kind of fragrant root) as presents for the Koch king Naranarayan.

The Koch envoys then returned to their kingdom with a broken heart. Having received the oral and written reply of his letter, the Koch king Naranarayan understood the attitude of the Ahoms that they were beating upon challenging the Koches as the master of the Brahmaputra valley. Naranarayan, therefore, asked his brother general Chilarai to prepare for an immediate campaign against the Ahoms.

Preparation of war and invasion:

As Naranarayan was well aware of the difficult communications between the Koch and the Ahom kingdom, therefore he ordered his brother Gohāin Kamal or Kamal Narayan to construct a road on the north bank of the Brahmaputra from Koch Behār to Hābung (above Mājuli) along the foot of Bhutan and Daflā hills. In order to meet scarcity of water

29. ABSMJJC. P.30
30. Ibid.; KBL. P.105
31. KBL. P.106; ABSMJJC. P.36
32. ABSMJJC. P.36; ABHB. P.31; KB. P.12. (According to DRV, P.65 and KBL, P.106 the road was ordered to be constructed upto "Parasu Kuthār" i.e. Parasūrām Kunda, in the eastern limit of Assam which however, does not appear possible. In fact, it was built up to Nārīyanpur in the present Lakhimpur district.)
on the way he ordered the digging of tanks at a distance of every half a day's journey. Parts of this road are still in existence and are known to this day as Gohain Kamal Ali. The construction of this road had taken a time of one year.

After completing this great undertaking Chilarai then organised his forces of 60,000 soldiers and marched against the Ahoms in A.D. 1562. Chilarai arranged the invasion both by land and water. Hence he divided his forces into two divisions - the navy was placed in charge of two generals named Bhaktamal and Tepu, and the infantry was under the command of Bhimbal and Bābulal Pātra. Chilarai himself the supreme command of the infantry in its front and king Naranarayan accompanied by his Queen Bhānumati, followed the expeditionary force at the back. On their way all the Bhuyan chieftains offered their submission to Naranarayan. As well as the Bhutiys and the Daillas also offered their submission and joined the forces. Darrang RājVamsāvali (DRV) mentions that on his way Naranarayan halted at a place on the bank of Sonkosh river, where he organised all the Mech-Kachāri people and obtained their support against Ahoms. Then he halted at Tāmātumani in the present Mongoldoi sub-division where he got the support of twelve groups of the tribal people. Naranarayan then encamped at a place called Chandikā Behār near Bharararakunda in the same sub-division where he ordered for the building of a temple of goddess Durgā and a hill fort. He installed an image of the goddess in the temple and appointed a Kachāri as its priest. He then instructed all the tribal people viz Meehes, Kachāries, Koches living to the north of the Gosāin Kamal Āli to follow their tribal customs, but in the territory between the Gosāin Kamal Āli and the Brahmaputra Brahmanic rites were to be continued. The Bhutiys were further instructed to pay him annual tributes of Gold, horse, hides and other things.
Such acts of Naranarayan were definitely guided by diplomatic motives to gain the all round support and loyalty from the people of the region. Thereby he not only secured the support of all the tribes of the regions, but also the help of some Brahmins of Nārāyanpur. It is witnessed by one Assamese chronicle that one Brahmin Bhuyan of Nārāyanpur gave an elephant to Naranarayan and joined his forces against the Āhoms. From the Chandikā Behār Naranarayan proceeded to Singri and then reached the Bharali river. DRV and all the local sources stated that Sukladhvaj earned the name “Chilarai” by crossing the Bharali river on horseback. About this time the descendants of the Chutia Royal family who had been dethroned and dispersed from their kingdom in 1523 A.D. by Suhungmung, came to Naranarayan and sought shelter and protection. King Naranarayan not only gives him shelter but also established at a place called Bānhbāri in Darrang. Finally Naranarayan and Chilarai reached Nārāyanpur with their infantry and encamped there without any opposition from the Āhoms.

As well as the Koch Naval force under Tepu and Bhaktamal sailed through Brahmaputra and after occupying Salā and Marākalang advanced as far as the mouth of Dikhow river and encamped there. The Āhom king Sukhāmphā alias Khorā Rājā (1552-1603 A.D.) immediately appointed a number of important officers including the Charingia and Tipomia Rājā also under the command of Āikhhe Burāghāhāin to met the Kocheś at the mouth of Dikhow. The Āhom Naval force constructed a fort on the opposite side of the enemy’s camp and waited for an attack. However the Kocheś coming down in the night and fired guns at the Āhoms and killed several of them. The Āhoms then retreated to the river Hāndiā, and the Kocheś also proceeded to the mouth of Hāndiā river where a battle took place between the two. The Āhoms were again routed, a number of their high officials fell dead in the battle and one was captured alive.

---

42. ABSMJ. P.42; Ibid. P.108.
43. DRV. V.340; Ibid.
44. Ibid. Vv.372-73; Ibid.
45. ABGC. P.85; Ibid.
46. DAB. P. 61; Ibid. HAG. P.52
On the other hand the Koch infantry under Chilarai in the front and Naranarayan at the back had stationed at Narayanpur however faced with a treacherous defeat at the hands of the Ahoms. It is said that the Ahom king Sukhampha being aware of the pious nature of the Koch king and their respect for cows and Brahmanas employed a trick. He sent many of non-Brahman soldiers dressed as Brahmans with sacred thread and caste mark on their foreheads and making them seated on cows to fight with the Koches. The Koch brothers considering them to be real Brahmanas withdraw their forces for the fear of the consequence of killing both cows and Brahmanas. But soon Chilarai came to know of the real fact, he himself took the matter and renewed conflict in January, 1556 A.D. and advanced with a large force up to the Brahmaputra as far as the mouth of Dikhow river.

The situation of the battle compelled the Ahom king Sukhampha to propose a peace treaty with the Koches, as the Ahom force had to faced with the repeated failure at Sala and Morangi and betrayal of some important officers including kings brother named Tāmulnokhowā Gohāin and a section of Morān people of Chungis joined the Koches. Accordingly envoys from both sides were exchanged. But in the meantime Chilarai came to know the cow-Brahman tricks of Ahom king, immediately renewed the conflict.

The naval force under Tepu and Bhaktamal also immediately marched forward to the mouth of Dikhow river. The infantry under Chilarai crossed the Brahmaputra and encamped at Mechagarh in April 1563 A.D. Both the naval and infantry forces of the Koch now combing the Ahom garrison and routed in Marangi, Dihing and Abhaypur. The situation thus became seriously critical for the Ahom king, who having no way out fled from the capital with his nobles to a place called Charāikhorong in the Naga hills. Naranarayan was then residing at Majuli. The victorious Koch army then entered the capital at Garhgaon.

47. ABHB. P.32; Asam Buranjī Sar, Kasinath Tamuli Phukan. Pp.25 -26. (ABS); ABGB. P. 103.; In ABSMJIC P.39, it is stated that the Brahmanas of Habung themselves contrived this plan in order to escape from the attacked of the Koches and many non- Brahmanas also joined with them assuming the role of Brahmanas in order to protect themselves from Koch attacks. This statement however, seems correct as the all Brahman Bhuyans of Habung who were disatisfied with Ahom rule, joined the ranks of the Koch king by offering their submission to him.
50. DRV. V.374; ABGC. P.87; CHAB. P.72; DAB. P.46; KBI. P.109
Conclusion of peace treaty:

Circumstances of the present situation make the Ahom king Sukhampha anxious for a peace treaty. Accordingly he discussed the matter with his ministers and nobles, and a few months later Aikhek Burāgohāin was deputed to sue for peace with an offer of two gold vessels, two silver vessels and a large silver jar as presents. Naranarayan was then stationed at Majuli, Aikhek Burāgohāin came to Koch king Naranarayan and offered him those things and prayed for peace. Naranarayan however agreed to leave the Ahom kingdom provided the Ahom king would hand over to him the sons of his chief nobles as hostages along with the best elephant “Khāmring” and the swiftest horse “Pakhirāj.” This message was conveyed to Sukhampha at Charāikhorong who accepted the proposal and accordingly in July 1563 A.D. sent five sons of the Chief Ahom nobles and acknowledged the overlordship of the Koch king. Besides the payment of a large indemnity of sixty elephants, sixty pieces of cloth and a quantity of gold and silver and the best elephant “Khāmring” and the horse “Pakhirāj”, the Ahom king also ceded to Naranarayan the whole territory from the river Suvansiri lying to the north of Brahmaputra.

The Koch king thereupon returned after proper administrative arrangement of the newly acquired territory. He appointed one Ujir Bāmun, one Tāpashi Laskar and another Malāmulyā Laskar (Revenue cum administrative officer) to administer the region. Naranarayan also stationed a garrison at Nārāyanpur and established outposts at suitable intervals.

Thus the Ahoms who so long proved almost unchallenged power in the eastern Brahmaputra valley, became a feudatory of the Koches and in that year of Koch victory all the tributes were paid to the Koch king. Now the Koches won the contest for hegemony of the Brahmaputra valley and became unchallenged master of the region. The military skill and daring personality of Chilarai and the means of transport and communication made by him,
and above all the love and respect from all the followers and the soldiers in his camp greatly
determined the fate of the victory of the war in favour of the Koches. It is recorded in the
Assamese chronicles that in his return Chilarai took with him some artisans scholars and
poets from the Ahom kingdom.56

Expedition against the other neighbouring kingdoms:
Kachār:

After subjugating the Ahoms, Koches turned their attention towards conquering the
other neighbouring kingdoms in the north-east. In this regard they first turned their attention
towards Hidimbā, the kingdom of Kachāris, inhabited by the Kachāris or Dimāshās, a section
of the Bodo tribe. In the 13th century the Kachāri kingdom also known as Hidimbā desa,
extended from the Dikhow to the Kalang river on the south bank of the Brahmaputra including
the valley of Dhansiri and also the present north-Cāchar sub-division.57 However after the
Kachāris were routed by the invasions of the powerful Ahom king Suhungmung the then
Kachāri capital, Dimāpur was badly devastated in the year 1536 A.D. At the time of Koch
invasion, therefore, the Kachāri kingdom became considerably reduced in size. Its capital at
that time was Māibong, situated on the banks of the Māhur river.58 It was surrounded by a
wall, in side of which the remains of several temples are still visible. The kingdom then covered
mainly the region of present north Cāchar and the Kalang valley in modern Nawgāon district.

From the records of DRV, it seems that the Koch army, some time in 1564 A.D. after
their victory on Ahoms marched along the south bank of the Brahmaputra and halted at
Marangi in the present Golaghat district and built a fort there.59 "Koch Behārar Ithās"
(henceforth KBI) mentions that at that time the king of Hedemba Desa was possibly
Meghanarayan.60 Chilarai with due permission of his brother Naranarayan prepared to attack
the Kachāris. However, instead of adopting the usual strategey of a frontal war he applied his

(PAB), P.51; AAAW, P.205.
57. HAGP248.
58. Ibid. P.251.
59. DRV.V.386.
60. KBI. P.110.
own method of “guerilla” warfare. He invaded Maibong, accompanied by only twenty specially selected, highly proficient cavalry soldiers. The famous among them were Kabindra Pātra, Rājendra Pātra, Dāmodar Karji and Megha Mughdum.61 The Kachāri king was totally unaware by this attack, and hence was defeated. He then declared his allegiance to the Koch king and also offered him eighty four elephants and other gifts, after which a friendship treaty was signed. The Kachāri king also agreed to pay an annual tribute of seventy thousand rupees of silver coins, one hundred gold mohars and sixty elephants.62

Chilarai then made an administrative centre at Brahmapur, later known as Khāspur and appointed his brother Gohāin kamal as governor of Kachār to look after the administration of the region. Later Gohāin Kamal was called the Dewān-Rājā and the Koch subjects under him were known as Dehāns.63

Manipur:

The DRV states that after the conclusion of the Kachār campaign, Naranarayan and Chilarai sent envoys to the king of Manipur asking him to accept the suzerainty of the Koch king and pay tribute. Having heard of victorious campaigns of the Koch king in the kingdoms of Assam and Kacher and being feared of an attack by a powerful prince like Chilarai, the Manipur king at once submitted of his own accord and agreed to pay the annual tribute to Koch king Naranarayan. His tribute was fixed at twenty thousand silver and three hundred gold mohar and ten elephants.64

Jayantīā:

The victorious Koch General Chilarai next despatched his envoys to the king of Jayantīā demanding his allegiance. Then the Jayantīā kingdom was consisted of the Jayantīā hills and the plains tract, south of it and north of Surāmā or Barāk river.65 Unlike the kings of

61. Ibid; DRV Vv.389-390.
64. DRV Vv.412-413; KBI. P.110; HAG Pp.52-53; KRJIAS. P. 172
65. HAG. P259

(26)
Cachar and Manipur, the Jayantia king preferred to challenge the Koches instead of acceptance of demands of Chilarai. In the battle that followed, the Jayantia king was killed and his son was installed on to the throne, on condition of paying an annual tribute to the Koch king. The new king also offered to Koch king - one hundred horses, ten thousand silver and one thousand gold coins and one hundred special type of Jayantia sword called Khāndā as war compensation. The king fixed Jayantia king, an annual tribute of seventy elephants, ten thousand silver coins and three hundred “nākoi dāo” (a special kind of knife). One of the conditions imposed on him was that he should not in future strike coins in his own name. As a matter of fact, until the year 1731 A.D. no king of Jayantia appears to have recorded his name on the coins minted by him. On all coins the Jayantia kings minted with the words - “Ruler of Jayantia” instead of giving the kings name. This special concession in case of Jayantia king was allowed probably because a considerable amount of trade was passed through the kingdom of Jayantia with Bengal, as Naranarayan always encouraged the trade pursuits. It is also said that, at the direction of the Koch king, roads and water tanks were constructed and excavated within the Jayantia kingdom.

Tripurā:

DRV states that after the conquest of Jayantia, Chilarai with the permission of his brother Naranarayan, moved against Tripurā with a huge army of 40,000 soldiers. In the battle that followed, the king of Tripurā lost his life and as many as 18,000 of his soldiers were massacred in the battle. The battle was fought at a place called “Lānkhārī” in the southern border of Kāchār. The brother of the slain king then submitted to the Koch king,

66. Ibid. P.262. (At that time Jayantia king was probably Bar Gohāîn (A.D.1548-64) or Bijoy Manik (A.D. 1564-80). The name of Jayantia king who came into conflict with Chilarai was not mentioned. However the chronology of the Jayantia kings shows either one of these two at the time of occurrence).
67. DRV.Vv.415-416
68. Ibid. Vv.417-418;
69. Ibid. V.420;
70. Ibid. V.419; HAG. P.53
71. KRJIAS. P.171
72. DRV.VA2A
73. KBP. Pp.111f. (27)
paying valuable presents including thirty horses, ten thousand silver and one hundred gold coins.\textsuperscript{74} The Koch king then placed him on the throne on condition of paying him an annual tribute of nine thousand gold coins.\textsuperscript{75} After having conquered Tripurā, Chilarai is said to have stationed a group of Koch soldiers there and constructed a fort near Brahmapur which was then named Kochpur, later came to be known as Khāspur.\textsuperscript{76} The incident\textsuperscript{77} possibly took place after the death of Vijay Mānikya in an about 1563 A.D. when Tripurā was ruled by weak rulers.\textsuperscript{78}

**Submission of Khairām:**

In \textit{DRV}, it is stated that the news of Chilarai’s victorious campaigns over Tripurā terrorised the ruler of Khairām. Viryanta, the chief of Khairām, is said to have made his submission to the Koch king offering presents of forty thousand silver, one thousand gold coins, forty elephants, and sixty horses.\textsuperscript{79} He also agreed to pay an annual tribute of fifteen thousand rupees, nine hundred gold mohars, fifty horses, and thirty elephants.\textsuperscript{80} The Khairāmi ruler was also permitted to mint coin in the name of the Koch king. But his coins would bear the mark of mace in order to distinguish them from those struck in the mints of the Koch kings.\textsuperscript{81} This is an instance how Nārāyani coins were circulated in countries outside Koch Behār.

**Subjugation of Sylhet:**

Naranarayan and Chilarai next turned their attention towards Sylhet, a kingdom located on the north of the river Kusiārā, and which was the birth place of the great Vaisnava reformer Chaitanyadeva.\textsuperscript{82} Chilarai moved forward rapidly with eighty thousand soldiers. A terrific
battle ensued between the two powers, at which the Sylhet king was defeated and slain by the Koch general Chilarai. Asurāi, the brother of Sylhet king offered his submission with presents of one hundred elephants, one hundred eighty horses, three lac silver and ten thousand gold coins.\textsuperscript{83} Naranarayan then placed him on the throne on condition of paying an annual tribute of one hundred elephant, two hundred horses, three lacs rupees and ten thousand gold coins.\textsuperscript{84}

**Subjugation of Dimaruā:**

After subjugating Sylhet, Naranarayan and Chilarai decided to return to their capital by the way of Gauhati as to join their naval forces which was probably halting at Hajō. On their way back, the Koch soldiers attacked Pāntheswara, the Rājā of Dimaruā.\textsuperscript{85} The chiefs of Dimaruā claimed their decent from Mrigānka.\textsuperscript{86} It is possible that this Mrigānka was none other than the Kamatā ruler of Mrigānka of the 15th century. In the battle that followed, the Dimaruā Rājā was defeated and taken as prisoner. He was, however reinstated on his promise to pay an annual tribute of seven thousand rupees. There is however another account, according to which the Rājā of Dimaruā was formerly a tributary of the Kachāris, and after the conquest of the Kachāris, Naranarayan established him as warden of the marches in the Jayantiā frontier.\textsuperscript{87}

The Koch army thus conquered the whole of the north-eastern kingdoms within a short period of only four years (A.D. 1562-65). It is to be noted that the Koches did not annex all these conquered territories but were satisfied to secure their allegiance and tributes.\textsuperscript{88}

\textsuperscript{83} *KBI*, P.111; *DRY*, Vv.474-478  
\textsuperscript{84} *Ibid.; Ibid.*, Vv.486 - 487  
\textsuperscript{85} *Ibid.* V.445;  
\textsuperscript{86} *Ibid.* V.444  
\textsuperscript{87} *Ibid.* Vv.446, 461; *KBI*. P.112; *HAG* P.54  
\textsuperscript{88} *CHAB*: P.211

(29)
Expedition towards west: Conflict with Sūlaimān Kārnānī of Bengal:

With the repeated success in the east, the victorious Koch king Naranarayan next turned his attention towards the west, to the kingdom of Gauda, ruled by Sūlaimān Kārnānī (A.D. 1563-1572). So far Naranarayan had been everywhere successful, but it was now his turn to succumb to a stronger enemy Thān any he had yet encountered. This was Pādshāh of Gaur. It is however difficult to reconcile the different views on this matter given in the local chronicles, one hand and in the Persian sources like Ākbārnāmāh and the Riyāz-us-Sālātin (Tabaqut-i-Nāsirī) on the other. The Persian sources make the Bengal sultan as aggressor, while the local sources depict a different picture, namely, that it was the Koch king who sometimes after the eastward campaign, proceeded to fight against Gauda (also called Bare Bangla) on account of the destruction caused by the Muslims under Kālāpāhār in A.D. 1553. D. Nath, however on the basis of a comparative study on both the local and Muslim sources, states that - “it can be Surmised that Sūlaimān Kārnānī whose general was Kālāpāhār, invaded Assam not in A.D. 1553 or A.D. 1563, but in A.D. 1568; and that the offensive was played not by the Koch king Naranarayan but by Sūlaimān Kārnānī the Sultan of Bengal”.91

D. Nath also states that it was not possible for Naranarayan to take the aggressive, against the ruler of Bengal at a time hard for him in several ways. He had invested a large amount of money and materials in his eastern campaigns and his soldiers also were tired of protected conflicts. Although he had now only one way for expansion namely towards the west and south-west which was to be at the cost of newly grown Afgan power of Bengal, yet, the Afgan leader Sūlaimān was not the one to be easily dealt with; and Naranarayan would therefore have to be fully equipped before entering into any clash with him. Moreover the Koch king was as stated in the DRV, at that time under the influence of evil star; such belief in astrological calculations desisted the medieval rulers. Thus at a time when Naranarayan was repairing the material losses of his kingdom and had decided not to undertake any

90. DRV. Vv. 495-496; KB. P.12
91. D. Nath. P.67
92. Ibid. Pp. 67f.
serious expedition owing to the influence of Saturn, Sūlaimān Kārnāni a master of diplomacy, led his aggressive arms against the growing Koch kingdom. According to the sources, a fierce battle took place between the two powers. Unfortunately, in this battle, Chilarai was defeated and taken as a prisoner. It is said that, Chilarai fought against the enemy soldiers for ten days and ten nights continuously and killed innumerable number of them. But, ultimately when all his weapons were exhausted, Chilarai faced the enemy most daringly and courted arrest instead of running away. The victorious Muslim army under the command of Kālāpāhār, then proceeded up the Brahmaputra as far as Tezpur, devastating certain Koch territories and besieging the Koch capital, but had to return abruptly owing to the outbreak of a rebellion in Orissa. This happened in A.D. 1567-68.

The local traditions associate Kālāpāhār, a general of Sūlaimān Kārnāni, with iconoclastic activities in this land. Gait also mentions that the Mohammedans made no attempt to take permanent possession of the country, and returned to Bengal after demolishing the temples at Kāmākhyā, Hājo and other places. Kālāpāhār’s name is so widely known in Assam as the destroyer of Hindu images and temples. But the findings of D. Nath shows that the General Kālāpāhār invading Koch Behār in A.D. 1568, was not the traditional Kālāpāhār, held responsible for his iconoclastic activities in Assam; and so if the tradition has any bearing, that traditional Kālāpāhār must have been a different person. And that he identified Kālāpāhār with the last Khen king Nilambar’s Brahmin minister who accepted Islam and joined Ala-ud-din Hüssain Shāh’s force. In no case he was the general of Sūlaimān Kārnāni, whose invasion of Koch Behār took place in A.D. 1568 and whose military exploits were primarily motivated by the Bengal Sultan’s imperialistic designs and not by religious bigotry. Gait also mentions Kālāpāhār as a Brahman renegade.

93. *ABGB* P.129; *PAB*, P.67.
94. *DRV* Vv.496 - 503; *KBI*, P.113f.; *HAG*, P.54
95. Ibid.
96. *Riyāz - us - Salātin*, P.152
97. *HAG*, P.54
99. HAG P.54

(31)
The invasion of Sultan of Bengal however taught a good lesson to Naranarayan and Chilarai. This was the first serious defeat that the Koches met with. King Naranarayan scarcely managed his escape from the battle field, and Chilarai was captured alive and was brought to Gaur. However the imprisonment of Chilarai was short-lived. The local sources mentions that Chilarai obtained favour of the Pādshāh of Gaur by curing the latter's mother from snake-bite.\textsuperscript{100} It is also said that being pleased, the Pādshāh not only release Chilarai, but also gave his daughter in marriage to Chilarai with a dowry of five paraganās- Bāhirband, Bhitarbond, Gayābari, Sherpur, and Daskauniā i.e. the riparian portions of Rongpur and north Maymensingh.\textsuperscript{101} The military glory of the Koches greatly waned after the disappearance of Chilarai from the scene. The result of Koch-Afgan conflicts had brought about a new phase of the Koch-Āhom relations. The Assamese chronicles record that Chilarai after passing in captivity and finding no hope of his release sent a message to Naranarayan to release the Āhom hostages and to cultivate friendly relations with the Āhom king.\textsuperscript{102} He felt it highly essential as a precaution against any further Muslim attack, and as well as he suspected that the Āhom king would take advantage of this situation and invade their territory. Accordingly, Naranarayan spent no time, and on the pretext of his defeat at a game of dice with Sundar Gohain (one of the Āhom hostage), released all the Āhom hostages and other prisoners. He also sent with them some of his own men, mostly artisans and gold smiths with a friendly letter to the Āhom king. These artisans were established by Āhom king by the side of the river Nāmdāng in the present Sivasagar district. This place is still known as Bhatiyāpār.\textsuperscript{103}

\textbf{2nd Phase of navel expedition against Āhoms:}

It seems that the diplomatic initiatives of Naranarayan to keep his overlordship of the Āhom king and also to avert an attack on his kingdom by the Āhoms by obtaining his friendship did not bear the desired fruit. Āhom king Sukhāmphā alias Khorā Rājā tried his utmost to break the chain of his subordination to the Koch king and recovered his lost territories by dismissing the administration appointed by Chilarai. As a result unfriendly relations reoccurred and the

\textsuperscript{100} DRV. V.528; \textit{ABSMJC}. P.35
\textsuperscript{101} \textit{HAG} Pp.54-55; \textit{KBI}. P.114
\textsuperscript{102} \textit{ABSMJC}. P.33; \textit{ABHB}. P.35
\textsuperscript{103} \textit{ABHB}. P36; \textit{ABS}. P.24

\textbf{(32)
Koches had to lead two naval expeditions, one in A.D. 1566 and the other in 1571 to reassert their authority, but both were failed at the hands of Ahoms. The Koch navel force was headed by commander Tepu and one Bhitorual\textsuperscript{104} were compelled to flee. One of their officer Mohan was captured alive, a great number of soldiers killed and many guns, ships and other items fell to the hands of Ahoms. This was the last Koch invasion of the Ahom kingdom. Through this victory the Ahoms could extend their north-western boundary upto the Bhoroli. The modern Mongaldoi district and a part of Sonitpur district thus remained in the hands of the Koches.\textsuperscript{105}

It appears that the above naval expeditions were led against the Ahoms under the orders of Naranarayan, there being no mention about the involvement of Chilarai in his decisions. It is probable that the 1556 expedition was ordered at a time when Chilarai was in captivity. In order to keep the Ahoms against any possible attack, Naranarayan might have sent the expedition only as a tactical move.

**Koch Mughal relation:**

According to the Koch chronicle \textit{DRV} the Mughal emperor Ākbar sent a letter to Naranarayan seeking his help and friendship to fight against the Pādshāh of Gaur,\textsuperscript{106} and proposed to make a division of Bengal between them after its subjugation. Naranarayan immediately thought it wise to make a friendly move towards the Mughal emperor as the growing imperial power the Mughals became the matter of concern. Naranarayan on Chilarai’s advice not only accepted the proposal of a friendly alliance, but also prepared to assume offensive from the east and sent letter with presents to Ākbar communicating of his plan.\textsuperscript{107} And accordingly, Chilarai attacked Gaura from the east and the Mughal general Rājā Mān Singh launched the attack from the west. It is however, possible that the initiative in this regard was taken by Naranarayan himself, for he felt an urgent necessity of recovering his lost prestige after his defeat at the hands of Pādshāh of Gaur in A.D. 1568.\textsuperscript{108} In the battle

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{104} KBI. P.115
\item \textsuperscript{105} L. Devi: \textit{Ahom - Tribal Relations}. Guwahati, 1968, Pp. 282ff.; KBI. P.115
\item \textsuperscript{106} \textit{DRV}. Vv.566ff.; KBI. P.116
\item \textsuperscript{107} \textit{DRV}. Vv.570ff.; S. N. Bhattacharya: \textit{A History of Mughal North - East Frontier Policy}. Calcutta,1929, P.97 (MNEFPB)
\item \textsuperscript{108} Ibid.; Ibid. P102
\end{itemize}
from both the east and west the Pādshāh of Gaur was easily defeated and according to the understanding before launching the war, the kingdom of Pādshāh was divided between the Koch king and the Mughal emperor. The eastern bank of the Ganges was annexed to the Koch kingdom and the western part went to the Mughal hands. Further, as a result of the joint strategy, the bond of friendship was also tied between the Koches and the Mughals.109

But these events are however, in Ākbarnāmāh recorded in a different form. It states that king Naranarayan had begun friendly overtures by writing a letter to the Mughal emperor. It further states that Rājāh Mal Gosāi (Naranarayan) had again made his submission to Ākbar with valuable presents from his country.110 According to the statement that in 1578 A.D. Naranarayan sent a formal embassy to Ākbar’s court with valuable presents including fifty four elephants.111 However the Koch chronicle DRV appears to indicate it as a friendly gesture on an earlier occasion. D. Nath observes that Naranarayan did not make friendship with Ākbar as a subordinate ally as there is no indication of treating Naranarayan as a vassal of the Mughal emperor. Instead Ākbar had been highly pleased with such ambassadorial communications of Naranarayan, for which his qualities have been highly praised.112 Prof. S. N. Bhattachāryya also points out - “There is no mention of tribute, territorial concession or any other symbol of political tutelage anywhere. It need not be emphasised that the alliance was purely defensive in nature, contacted between two sovereign states and peace, amity and good will were its essence”.113

In course of the second expedition against Gaur, Chilarai was attacked by small pox and died on the bank of the Ganges in between 1572-75 A.D.114 He had a son named Raghudev, whom he left to his brother’s care. After Chilarai’s death, there was no more work in the Koch kingdom for several years. Naranarayan became much devoted to religion and works of public welfare, for which he came to be known as the pious king.

109. Ibid. V.584; KBI. Pp.117-118; KRJAS. Pp.179-181
110. Ākbarnāmāh. P.349
111. Ibid.
112. D. Nath. P.74
113. MNEFPB. P.98. fn. and 103
114. DRV. Vv.588 - 590; KBI. P.119
II. Consolidation of the Koch kingdom during the reign of king Naranarayan:

Naranarayan was one of the most remarkable rulers of the almost all over north-eastern India of the period. He was primarily a man of peace and more interested in literary and cultural pursuits. He was fortunate enough to possess in his brother Chilarai, one of the greatest general of the period who was the moving spirit behind every military venture. As soon as he died, the chapter of war-like preparations was closed and Naranarayan devoted his attention solely to the welfare activities. It was Chilarai who embodied the highest standards of patriotism, exemplary loyalty, superb military acumen, undaunted courage, blitzkrieg speed, extraordinary diplomatic ability, exceptionally just conduct and super efficient governance for which Naranarayan’s sovereignty at the zenith of his power extended to the major part of the north-eastern India.

It is stated elsewhere that Naranarayan did not annex most of the conquered territories and allowed the defeated rulers to enjoy their autonomy by paying annual tributes. H. N. Choudhury observes that Naranarayan’s conquest comprised - “almost the whole of Northern Bengal, Bhutan and Assam as well as the modern states of Kachār, Jayantīa, Manipur and Tipperah and extended upto the coast of the Bay of Bengal.115 However the territory under his direct administration was much smaller than that. Such territories as directly administered by him - extended from Tirhut in the west to Nārāyanpur on the north bank of the Brahmaputra in the east where he had a military outpost established and connected it with his capital Koch Behār by a road called Gosāin Kamal Ali. On the south bank of the Brahmaputra his direct sovereignty extended upto the river Kalang. According to the Ākbarnāmāh also, the western boundary of Naranarayan’s kingdom touched the Mughal dominating region Tirhut, and in the south, extended as far as Ghorāghāt.116 In our previous discussion it is stated that the five districts including Bāhirbandh and Bhitarbandh on both banks of the Brahmaputra became a part of the Koch kingdom as a result of the matrimonial relation took place between Chilarai and the daughter of Pādshāh of Gaur, which Chilarai gained as dowry. The Portuguese traveller Stephen Cacella, who visited Koch Behār after its partition, states in his account that the

---

116. Ākbarnāmāh. P.1067
farthest limit of Koch country (the western Koch kingdom) to the north was Renate (Rangamati Joygaon). According to the footnote reference of “Mughal North-East Frontier Policy”, in the extreme north-west a place called Kathalbari formed another frontier post of the Koch kingdom. As well as Akbarnāmāh also shows that the Koch kingdom in the north directly touched the lower Tribes. All these sources indicate that the bordering line of the Koch kingdom ran through the region covering the Bhutan border as far as Rangāmāti and Kathālbāri in the north and north-west.

D. Nath thus comments on the consolidation and extent of the Koch kingdom during the reign of Naranarayan - “It will therefore, have to be admitted that the conquests of Naranarayan were based more on military feats than on territorial extension followed by fruitful consolidation. So long the military strength of the Koches stood as democle’s award over the feudatories; they kept the terms of agreements. But no sooner Chilarai suffered a defeat at Bengal then they shook off the vassalāge and stopped paying tributes. The Ahom king even dismissed the Koch officers and appointed his own instead. The political sovereignty of Naranarayan extended at least for a short while to the whole of the Brahmaputra valley upto Śadiya on the east, and on the south-east it spread as far as Manipur. Although apparently “the net result of this expedition does not appear to have been nothing more than a leap-deep acknowledgement of political vassalāge and a hollow promise of payment of tribute on the part of the defeated chiefs and as such seems hardly commensurate with the time, energy and resources spent thereon” yet it had some cultural impact at least in case of Assam and Kachār and helped in the process of cultural assimilation in the north-east”.

---

118. MNEFPB. P.96 fn.
119. Akbarnāmāh. P.1067
120. D. Nath. P.76.